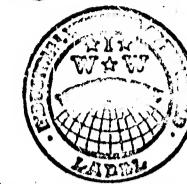


The Working Class And The Employing Class Have Nothing In Common.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER



VOL. II. No. 5.

One Dollar a Year.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1910.

Six Months, 50c

Whole Number 57.

I.W.W. Again in Battle with the Steel Trust

CORDOVA AND FAIRBANKS, ALASKA

Alaska "Business Men" Need More Suckers. The Alaska fever is evidently cooling off to some extent. The Workers do no longer seem to be rushing there as fast as before with the pitiful savings of a lifetime, in order to divide them between the transportation companies, the merchants, the saloon keepers, the gamblers and the other motley makeup of the "last Wild West."

These reflections are caused by the following seductive "Call of the Wild," appearing in a Seattle paper.

"As a result of the rush of gold hunters to the Iditarod district, Fairbanks is in danger of getting out less than 40 per cent of the output of the mines in that vicinity that would otherwise be handled during the coming summer. W. H. Parsons, vice-president of the Washington Trust Company, who has interests in the Fairbanks district, received an urgent call for men recently in a cablegram signed by a number of the most prominent financial and business men of Fairbanks.

"A meeting of a number of Seattle men who are interested in property in the district involved, was held at 3 o'clock this afternoon for the purpose of appointing committees to take the necessary steps toward procuring men. The aid of the Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Club will be requested.

"The message states that Fairbanks will be short of 7,500 laborers this summer on account of the rush for the Iditarod and that it is necessary that the cooperation of Seattle men with interests in that vicinity be given immediately. The message was signed by R. Wood, president of the First National Bank of Fairbanks; E. T. Barnette, president of the Fairbanks Banking Company; A. C. Gardner, a wholesale butcher; Charles Stewart, manager of the Pacific Coast Cold Storage Company; A. Brunbaugh, president of Brunbaugh, Hamilton & Kellogg, machinery dealers; E. W. Griffin, president of the Griffin Commercial Company; E. R. Peoples, a retail and wholesale provision dealer; Volney Richmond, general manager of the Northern Commercial Company.

"This matter is of the utmost importance to Seattle," said Parsons today. "We won't get the gold here unless they have men to wash out the dumps. An output of from \$7,000,000 to \$9,000,000 is expected from the Fairbanks and this will be diminished probably two-thirds unless help is sent to that section. Six dollars a day for point men and \$5 for shovels offered, including board."

Compare with this bugle call the following extract from the "Industrial Worker" of last week:

Steer Clear of Cordova.

April 10, 1910.

Industrial Worker:

Advise men to steer clear of Cordova for next two months, as there are 1,600 men "living on the companies" there now—who can't work for months to come. Heney's sign at Seattle water front is a fake.

A MEMBER.

Cordova, Alaska.

As most everybody knows, Cordova is only half a day by steamer from Valdez, the old shipping point for Fairbanks, and if Fairbanks is so badly in need of 1,600 laborers at \$5 or \$6 a day and board, these 1,600 workers who are vegetating in Cordova, with prospects only half as good, would certainly be willing to answer the call.

But the fact of the matter is that Fairbanks is not so badly in need of men as to take such a step.

This cry about "shortage of labor" is an old hoax that is being worked all over the country, and especially by the smart men who expect to make their pile in Alaska. If we did not hear this how, every spring from the far North we would be disappointed.

As much as "business men" may cheat one another in their mutual transactions, as much as they may be setting traps for another, there is one thing upon which they are thoroughly agreed, and that is: Labor must be skinned.

What they now principally have in view is to flood the Alaska labor market as much as possible. In order to do this they circulate frenzied and faked rumors, such as the above, and to make these rumors effective they trot out as guarantors and sponsors their so-called "prominent men," their various "presidents" "managers" and their wholesale and retail commercial notabilities. It is thought that these "titles," which may sound well between themselves, may lend to their predatory speculations that ponderous respectability, which will again draw forth what few shekels there might be in some credulous working man's pockets.

There are four main, distinct groups of interests which annually perpetrate this pitiful

FARM HANDS STRIKE AT NORTH YAMHILL

A number of farm hands have been on strike here for some time. The strike is unique in that it was caused by a rancher firing I. W. W. men. The Fellow Workers that were fired had been handing out the principles of revolutionary unionism in huge, raw chunks, and the other men on the job seemed to be taking to it like mother's milk. The boss did not like this and fired the agitators. Then all the men on the ranch struck. The boss then sent a man to Portland to get scabs. He got them all right, nit. What he got was a bunch of sinners that said they would go down if the guy would pay their fare, which he did. They went far enough to give the conductor time to lift the tickets; they then got off and took the street car back to Portland.

There were four men with families among the strikers, and they were rather short of funds when the strike began, so they went to work on other ranches, but the ranchers organized and locked out all the strikers. Next they got the petty larceny grafters of Grocery men and Butchers, etc., to raise the price of everything about 40 per cent, to all the strikers; then they started to slander the wives and daughters of the married men who were on strike. To such an extent did this contemptible practice go that if any of the wives or daughters of strikers went out on the streets, these Scissor bills would go out of their way to insult them. The reply the I. W. W. has made to all this was to send men in there to plant trees upside down and cut the roots of others. One rancher says he has lost three thousand dollars' worth of trees during this strike. The Portland Locals have been sending men down there to put the Kilboon on things in general (for the ranchers). The Scissor bills are threatening guns and murder, but it is slowly penetrating their Hoosierfield skulls that if they try this they may run up against a very real snag.

At the present writing the ranks of the strikers remain unbroken, and the ranchers are losing thousands of young trees and the chance of having their other trees attended to, thus endangering their fruit crop for this year. The way things stand now they are almost afraid to hire anyone they don't know, for fear he might prove to be one of those pesky agitators that have already caused them to shed so many tears, for lost dividends.

With a little financial aid from the I. W. W. locals the strikers will either be able to put these same Hoosiers on the bum or make them grant the demands of the strikers (which are 30c per hour and a decent bunk house to sleep in, instead of an old barn, broken down chicken coop, or the shelter of a three-year-old straw stack.)

North Yamhill is on the edge of the famous Willamette Valley Hop country, and a victory here means a big boost to the I. W. W. among the thousands of people who annually come into this region to take care of the hop crop. Anyone wishing to contribute to the assistance of the strikers should do so at once. Send all funds to J. D. Campbell, North Yamhill, Ore.

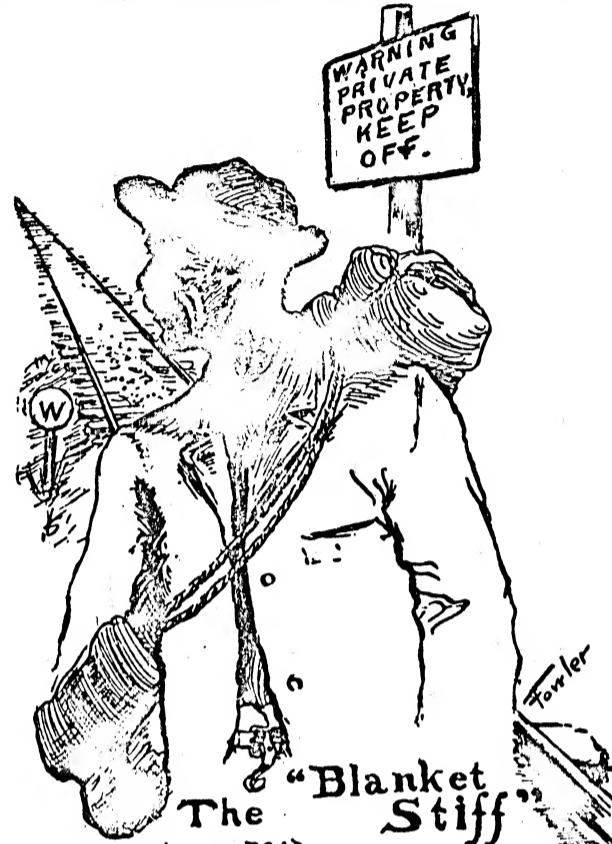
Some of the strikers are working in the sawmills in the hills surrounding the valley, and are only keeping enough of their number in Yamhill to picket the trains and carry on the details of the strike.

There has been no strike in the west that I know of where the workers involved have shown a keener appreciation of the real nature of the class struggle than this one of the agricultural workers at North Yamhill. And none have more thoroughly deserved the moral and financial aid of all real revolutionists.

J. JACKSON.
Secretary Portland Locals, I. W. W.

EMPLOYMENT AGENTS PROMOTE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

A story of a revolting murder committed in New York in connection with the white slave traffic has brought about investigation that establishes the fact that employment agencies, technical schools and schools of type-writing and stenography, which give working people promise of employment, are in many cases establishments used as means of promoting the vicious commerce mentioned. The so-called business college has operated in connection with agencies guaranteeing places for young girls. These girls were sent to the places specified and were there betrayed into lives of shame. It is one more link connecting the white slave traffic with the profit system. Such charges have not been made against the public school, but even the school, privately conducted, it seems, has in some cases become a recruiting station for lives of shame. There is nothing under the sun that private business and the profit business will not corrupt.—Ex.



He built the ROAD—
With others of his CLASS, he built the road,
Now o'er it, many a weary mile, he packs his load,
Chasing a JOB, spurred on by HUNGRY goad:
He walks and walks, and wonders why
In H—L, he built the road.

—Courtesy Workingman's Paper.

ALL LOCAL UNIONS OF I. W. W. ON STRIKE IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY OF THE PITTSBURG DISTRICT. STRUGGLE PROMISES TO BE SEVERE.

From the headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago comes the news by wire that all the local unions of the I. W. W. in the steel industry are on strike, and that the struggle promises to be a severe one.

We have expected this after seeing the following two press dispatches in the capitalist papers.

Thousands Men on Strike.

Pittsburg, April 18.—Strike trouble similar to that of last July threatens the Pressed Steel Car Company at Schoenerville, where 1,000 men refused to go to work today.

Strike Stops Cars.

Pittsburg, April 19.—Street car traffic in Schoenerville practically was abandoned and police patrolled the strike district today as a result of a strike inaugurated yesterday by 1,000 foreigners in the Pressed Steel car Company's plant. More than 4,500 men are idle. American workmen on their way to the car company plant were stopped by force.

The present conflict has been brewing for a long time. One of its symptoms was the arrest of the editorial staff and the press committee of "Solidarity," one of the organs of the I. W. W., on a charge so flimsy that no serious man can take it in earnest. They were arrested, tried and sentenced for not stating who were technical owners of the paper. Somewhere on the shelves of the legal library of Pennsylvania was hidden a long-forgotten law, pertaining to the manner of owning and publishing a paper. This particular paragraph was dug up out of the dust of the past with the purpose of crippling the I. W. W. and as a result a number of our fellow workers are in jail and will be for a couple of months to come. The plutes aimed a blow at the voice of the workers, but their aim was high, and as a result, solidarity continues to appear.

The victories won in McKees Rocks and other points in the Pittsburg district by the men organized in the I. W. W. and the constantly increasing influence of our organization in this most highly developed section of the capitalist world seem to have again brought matters to the breaking point. The steel trust would like to get rid of the I. W. W. As long as this corporation had to deal only with the A. F. of L. it was easy sailing, and as long as the despised "hunkies," "slavs" and "foreigners," were unorganized the steel magnates rode roughshod over the workers who were making billionaires and philanthropists while they themselves lived like dogs.

Conditions have changed. While a few years ago it was a common saying that it was the foreigners who were lowering the standard of living, it now seems to judge from one of the above press dispatches that it is the American-born working men who lead themselves to strike-breaking.

The lines of battle are becoming clear-cut. On the one side is the capitalist class incarnated and on the other is the working class, beginning to line up for the final great battle.

200,000 WORKERS JOIN BUILDING TRADES STRIKE.

BERLIN, April 16.—A lockout in the building trades of Germany began at 6 o'clock. Between 150,000 and 200,000 workers already are affected.

Although the employers of Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen have not yet participated in the movement and negotiations for a peaceful settlement are continuing in Munich, the lockout is widespread. Bitter feeling divides the employers and employees. Most of the contractors are determined to defeat the trade unions, but it is estimated 10 per cent of the employers have declined to join the lockout, as they are in sympathy with the men.

The building material manufacturers have joined forces with the employers in several cities and will not deliver materials to those employers who do not obey the lockout mandate.

WORTHY OF NOTICE.

It is interesting to notice that the intelligent opponents of socialism have made a remarkable change of attitude toward it during the last few months. What concerns them most now is as to how the transition from capitalism to socialism will be made. In short, the revolutionary propaganda of the workers has won in theory. The next step is that of practice.

And here is where the revolutionary unionism will have its day. From now on revolutionary tactics will be discussed more than ever before.

Let us keep up our revolutionary propaganda as never before. Let us build up the I. W. W. with all the energy at our command. The struggle is a hard one, of course. The enemy we have to fight is resourceful and all that. But economic evolution is with us. The future is ours and that sooner than many of us think.

LOUIS DUCHEZ.

(Continued on Page Three.)

FARMERS ARE IN NEED OF "HOBOES"

SPOKANE POLICE STILL FAKING

The following is a clipping from a Seattle paper:

Spokane, April 18.—"John Sullivan, you want to know where the missing officer is? He is in the Spokane river. We had to get him out of the way. He is No. 1 and you are No. 3. You need not think because you're the I. W. W. is out of jail it will save you, for you will sure get it, and get it hard. I rode on the car with you the other night and found out where you live."

The above note, scribbled on cheap paper, was received through the mail by Chief of Police Sullivan this morning. At the top of the anonymous writing is a crudely drawn cross with an equally poorly drawn hand pointing to it and the word "traitor" printed in large letters.

"The writer undoubtedly has reference to Merchants' Patrolman Sautbine, who has been put out of the way, as no clew has been unearthed that will lead to his whereabouts," said Chief of Police Sullivan. "From the reference made to the I. W. W.'s being freed, I am led to believe that the letter was written by one of the members of that organization."

This is the third such missive the chief has received. The others threatened that his life would be taken within a few days from the date of the letters."

One of two things has happened. Either a starveling of a newspaper reporter has played a profitable practical joke on his fellow sufferers on this planet, or the Spokane police department and authorities are trying to manufacture a disagreeable case against the Industrial Workers of the World, for the purpose of somewhat blurring the clean record with which that organization went through the battle for some fundamental human cravings, the right of free speech, the right of a free press and the right of free assembly.

Or it may possibly be that the deaths of our fellow workers S. O. Chinn and F. Ferry, as a direct result of the brutalities to which they were subjected while in the hands of justice, has created a sentiment which is not entirely favorable to the Spokane authorities and their paymasters generally, the capitalist class of the Northwest, which sentiment must in some way be counteracted.

Still, the possibility is not excluded, that at some future date the man will be produced who wrote this letter and that he then will have an I. W. W. card in his possession.

The I. W. W. interests the capitalist class

(Continued on Page Four.)

Our Fellow Workers, Preston and Smith, Are Still In Jail

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE
Local Unions of the Industrial Workers of the
World.
P. O. Box 1443

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Subscription, Yearly \$1.00
Canada, Yearly 1.50
Subscription, Six Months50
Bundle Orders, Per Copy02½

Cash MUST Accompany All Orders.

Entered as Second-Class matter, Dec. 21, 1909,
at the Postoffice at Seattle, Wash., under the
Act of March 3, 1879.

The workers will not organize until they are shown that we have a form of organization and the kind of tactics that will bring results. They are practical—but unintelligently selfish.

A bill has been introduced in the Canadian Senate which proposes to so amend a section of the criminal code that in reality every union in Canada would be guilty of conspiracy in restraint of trade.

How do you do? Have you got any subscribers for the "Industrial Worker" this week? Are you going to get any next week? Do you want to keep the message of revolutionary labor-unionism all to yourself, or do you want the other fellow to know something about it, too?

Do you know what the difference is between the "labor victories" in Milwaukee and San Francisco? No.

In Milwaukee the politicians have proposed to buy out the capitalists, while in San Francisco it is the capitalists who buy out the politicians.

Theories may be fine as an explanation of facts and as a help for investigating, but they do not solve the problem of how to overthrow wage slavery or even of how to improve the lot of the worker for a single day. To do either requires action, direct action by the workers themselves. Theories should be only the handmaid of the working class.

The editor and the press committee of "Solidarity," now in jail in New Castle, Pa., have been served with an injunction, restraining them from in any manner interfering with the strike breakers of the American Sheet and Tinplate Co., a branch of the Steel Trust. Either they must be expecting the "Solidarity" force to break out of jail any day or else that the scabs are going to break into it.

The hearts of political socialists are fluttering over the "Victory" in Milwaukee. Now they will have a chance to dig deep into their pockets for are not the Social-Democrats of Wisconsin going to buy out the capitalist class? In the meantime the level-headed part of the working class goes right ahead preparing to take things into their own hands through the only feasible method—direct action.

Judge Alton B. Parker, democratic nominee for president in 1904, says that the laws that are now in existence, codified, and upon record, fill over twenty-five thousand legal volumes. It is a wonder we do not put our foot in the legal trap at every other step and that we do not have to spend at least half of our life in jail. We are told to "respect the law," but what an awful burden of respect we would have to pack around with us in order to cover these 25,000 volumes with a coating of reverence even as thin as a goldleaf. Don't let us worry though, nearly all of the laws are made to order by lawmakers who are the kept men of the Standard Oil, the Steel Trust, the railroads and other equally moral institutions, for the furtherance of their plunder and the protection of their swag.

A WARNING.

Cautiousness is one of the most prominent traits of the savage. Nature itself, hard knocks and experience teach him this virtue. But as man becomes more civilized he seems to lose some of his acute senses and perceptions and shows a tendency to become carefree, and with our present complicated social system the most unexpected and terrible consequences may follow from such a tendency.

For this reason it is really a boon to humanity that there arises occasionally a man who sounds a note of warning.

It is therefore with real pleasure and with a view of benefitting humanity, that we here reproduce an important press dispatch from the local papers, which reads as follows:

Magnate Sounds Warning.

New York, April 14.—A warning of impending danger not only to manufacturing interests, but to the whole country is sounded by W. C. Brown, president of the New York Central Railroad, who believes that the high cost of living foreshadows a national crisis. In a statement made public, Brown quotes statistics showing that consumption is increasing at a much greater rate than production, and likens the situation to two railroad trains traveling on a single track, one train representing production moving at thirty-six miles an hour and the other representing consumption, making sixty miles an hour.

"It is plain," he points out, "that the second train must soon overtake the first—picture the result."

Hear the warning!

What would we do, if we did not have these "pillars of society," these "captains of industry," these brilliant "empire builders" to tell us how to act and when to stop?

Just think what would happen if we first consume everything we have produced and then begin to attack what is left! The horror of it is enough to stagger the strongest human mind.

No, let us get our senses while there still is time.

You all know that our material needs can be classified in three great departments: Food, clothing and shelter. So here is where we have got to make our retrenchments in order to save ourselves from a cataclysmic disaster.

We cannot possibly know whether any further retrenchments are possible, without danger to life, within the circles where our benefactor and adviser moves, so we will have to leave that to themselves. But we surely know one another, we of the working class, and it is to them we speak.

We must retrench!

Beginning with the food, let us cut that doughnut out and get along as best we can with the hole. We could cut the coffee out also if they only would put some coffee in it. But by all means, if you see anybody using a "plain steak," tap him gently on the shoulder and tell him he is a villain and a murderer, who is going to bring about the destruction of "our" country and our race. Remember the picturesque figure of speech used by our Savoir, the President of the New York Central Ry. Never again look sour, when you sit down to the table in your "home" or in the camp, but say your prayers and be thankful.

As for clothing, the second important department of human material needs, our pretentious mothers and sisters (wives we will not speak of, for few of us are blessed with any) ought to known that, according to the best authorities, Eve was contented with fig leaf, and the men could do without those extravagant dunces or overalls, and walk around in the Honolulu lights, so generously supplied by nature.

When we finally come to the third department of artificial human needs, we mean shelter, no one will deny that we could very well get along with less. Those who have a flat might move out in the back yard, where the kennel and the chicken coop might prove convenient places of refuge in case of emergency. Those who are in the habit of dwelling in camp-tents and luxurious bunkhouses should cease to put society to this expense and seek a resting place on the soft moss under a stately pine, through the branches of which the stars are twinkling beautifully, when it does not rain,

THE PHILADELPHIA STRIKE.

Concerning the carmen's strike in Philadelphia, which in its inception showed symptoms of developing into a local or state-general strike, a recent press dispatch has the following:

Philadelphia, April 17.—The executive committee of the striking carmen passed a resolution tonight directing the men to go back to work, although the referendum vote was 1,265 to stay out against 1,258 to return.

While we do not yet know the terms of the surrender, it is evident that the whole affair was a most deplorable failure. The mountains were going to bear, and they bore—a miscarriage.

But how could it be otherwise? When practically the whole body of workers in Philadelphia, organized as well as unorganized, proved their solidarity by a spontaneous outburst of revolutionary spirit such as this country has never seen before, when they loudly clamored for a general strike, it was mainly the American Federation of Labor which put a damper on their order and made the intended general strike a fiasco from the start.

The A. F. of L. put in motion their old, rusty machinery of dilatory tactics, thereby weakening the life-force of the uprising from the beginning. The A. F. of L. dug up out of its musty drawers the sacred and ignominious contracts they have made for certain crafts with the employers, and thus these crafts betrayed their fellows in the hour of need and on the morn of a glorious battle-day. Therefore, score one more for the A. F. of L. on the black pages of its history.

The street railway magnates were thoroughly scared and suffered such immense losses that the price of their stock sank considerably in the market in spite of all assistance from the outside capitalists. The company was in a splendid condition to be beaten. But then came insidious treason, coupled with incapacity.

The capitalist class of the whole country was thoroughly aroused and literally trembling in their stolen boots before this new-fangled manifestation of proletarian solidarity—and then came this bleak collapse, after so much misery, so much suffering, so much bloodshed!

The event is outrageous enough, tragic enough to stir every workingman in the country to thinking.

What the workers in Philadelphia lacked was a proper form of organization and a knowledge of the proper tactics. The carmen themselves have an organization which does not include the power house employees—in other words, they were not industrially organized. The same thing applies to the other unions, and thus the very source from which success could spring was missing. Furthermore, although there were several scattered instinctive utterances of various forms of direct action against the capitalist class, there was no sign of an systematic effort in this line. And, finally, the workers had divested themselves of their own power, their own initiative and

placed it in the hands of a slow-moving, stupid, and perhaps, corrupt machine of leaders who acted for them and led them to the shambles. Either one of these three factors would have been sufficient to jeopardize the success of the strike, and together they brought about dismal defeat.

The only bright spot in the whole affair is that it possibly has woken up some of the workers and familiarized them with the idea of revolt against the economic system of which they are the victims.

A MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PARIS AND SPOKANE.

The Industrial Worker has occasion to introduce to its readers the "Temps Nouveau," a periodical printed in Paris, France. The paper is one of the oldest in the working class movement, having been founded in the times of the International among the watch-makers in Switzerland, who together with many revolutionary refugees formed the Jura Federation. Peter Kropotkin was one of the early workers on the paper, which was then called "La Revolte." It has had a most adventurous career, which would be romantic if it were not so tragic.

However, what causes us at this time to introduce "T. N." is our desire to straighten out a misunderstanding between Paris and Spokane, in the interest of international peace. There was a short flash of lightning in the issue of "T. N." of March 19, 1910, which in translation reads as follows:

New York.—The Volks-Zeitung, a socialist-democratic journal, in its number of Dec. 12, publishes an editorial with the title "Ehrenzeichen der Arbeit" (Labor's badge of honor), Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Box 1600, Spokane, Wash.; Francis Miller, 12 Rosemont Terrace, Lymansville, R. I.; George Speed, 809 Howard street, San Francisco, Cal.; T. J. Cole, 809 Anne street, Blue Island, Ill.

ARIZONA.
Secretary, Town Address.

272—F. Valarde, Phoenix, 944 E. Van Buren St.

273—W. Welch, Globe, Box 1851.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

44—Alice Harding, Victoria, 1630 Pembroke street.

45—H. S. Cafferky, Vancouver, Room 3, 61 W. Cordova Street.

322—W. B. Smith, Vancouver, Room 3, 61 W. Cordova Street.

376—A. E. Grant, Prince Rupert, Box 711.

625—A. L. Elliott, Nelson, Box 653.

CALIFORNIA.

1—George Paff, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.

12—Wm. Allen, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.

13—Benson Jaynes, San Diego, 960 India St.

18—W. R. Sautter, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.

63—Wm. Erickson, Los Angeles, 243 East Second street.

66—W. F. Little, Fresno, 1114 Federal Alley.

173—J. Lebon, San Francisco, 909 Howard St.

174—A. Grafendorf, Oakland, Gen. Del.

245—John Troy, San Pedro, 212 Fourth St.

419—R. Vere, Redlands, Box 357.

437—Branch 4: James Carrigan, Imperial, Box 267.

437—Peter LeBlanc, Holtville, Box 42.

437—Branch 2: J. H. Sanderson, Brawley, Box 485.

COLORADO.

26—Harry Weinstein, Denver, 124 14th Ave.

ILLINOIS.

302—Car Builders, Hegewisch.

85—Branch 1: R. Stromberg, Chicago, 110 W. Elm Street.

Branch 2: K. Rathje, Chicago, 935 Wells Street.

Branch 3: E. Janicki, Chicago, 7 Emma St.

167—A. Simpson, Chicago, 1811 Oakdale avenue.

500—D. B. Bolger, Pullman, 20 E. 103rd St.

INDIANA.

200—Henry Hahn, Muncie, 2009 S. Elm St.

301—John Hermann, Hammond, Box 599.

201—W. H. Barner, Anderson, 2408 Brown St.

IOWA.

139—Ben Limberger, Sioux City, Gen. Deliv.

LOUISIANA.

38—F. Albers, New Orleans, 137 North Scott.

MINNESOTA.

64—C. Fisher, Minneapolis, 527 Emerson Avenue North.

137—Peter Johnson, Minneapolis, 516 Fifth St. South.

424—W. Free, Deer River.

MISSOURI.

33—L. Grey, Kansas City, 1005 East 5th St.

84—M. Robertson, St. Louis, 2651 Washington Avenue.

188—B. Blumoff, St. Louis, 2007A Biddle St.

Branch 2: I. Goldberg, St. Louis, 2340½ Carr street.

413—W. A. Hoffman, St. Louis, 2634 South 18th Street.

MONTANA.

29—Ralph H. Belcher, Billings.

40—Frank Reed, Missoula, Box 745.

41—W. B. Bailey, Great Falls, 505 Fifth Ave. South.

105—John Byrne, Anaconda, Box 635.

142—J. F. Schroeder, Anaconda, 212 East Com. Avenue.

405—F. C. Meyer, Butte, Box 1133.

421—Frank Dieter, Kalispell, Box 175.

MICHIGAN.

Mrs. Elma Anonino, Negaunee, L. B. 277.

NEBRASKA.

86—F. H. Alexander, Omaha, 627 South 17th Ave.

NEW JERSEY.

24—A. Hagsberg, Harrison, 15 Franklin ave.

510—H. Hartman, Jersey City, 107 Paterson St.

152—Adolph Lessig, Paterson, 311 Goodwin street.

DISTRICT COUNCILS.

New York, N. Y.—H. Traurig, 741 East Fifth street.

Chicago, Ill.—Wm. Rice, 935 Wells street.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR NOTES

(From "Bulletin International du Mouvement Syndicaliste.")

France.

The French Senate has now definitely voted to adopt the bill providing for old-age pensions, a law against which, as we know, the labor unions of the French General Federation of Labor have made and continue to make a most vigorous opposition.

Germany.

Strikes are threatening everywhere in Germany during this spring. In the building industry in Berlin it will be difficult to avoid the struggle. (See news item in another column.) The textile workers threaten to follow the example of the building workers, and certain groups of brewery workers, especially in Cologne and Bavaria, are very fretful. A lock-out, comprising 10,000 men, was proclaimed in the textile industry at Gronau on March 26. Furthermore, general strikes are contemplated in the cities of Kiel and Magdeburg as a protest against the new electoral law for the Prussian parliament. During the last three years there has been in the German empire as a whole not less than 7,000 strikes, of which more than one-half have ended with defeat for the workers. The German Syndicalists (Freie Vereinigung Deutscher Gewerkschaften) held their national congress in Berlin during Easter. In our next number we shall give a detailed account of this congress.

England.

In England it is above all the conflicts in the collieries of South Wales that stir the workers. In fact, up to the present, the negotiations between the mine owners and the miners have stranded on the principal points. The mine owners insist on getting a compensation for the increased cost of production of coal, an increase occasioned by the introduction of the eight-hour law, and which they estimate at 1 shilling and 7 pence (33 cents) per ton. The workers on their part refuse to accept the proposed reduction. If an understanding is not reached, the struggle will be terrible. The South Wales Miners' Federation possesses a strike fund estimated at 250,000 pounds (\$1,250,000), but as the Federation has 150,000 members that sum will not last long, as the workers are not supported by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. It is calculated that if the struggle breaks out in South Wales, it will comprise about 200,000 men. Furthermore, as great masses of marine and railway workers are directly depending upon the transportation and loading of coal in the ports of Cardiff and other places and, as thousands of merchants and other middlemen will be indirectly involved in the strike movement, it will affect not far from one million people.

Later.—Just as the above goes to press, the news arrives that the conflict in the coal mines of South Wales may be considered terminated, unless the miners of that country decide to conduct a guerrilla war. In fact, it seems that the impending great battle between the mine owners and the miners has been avoided, since on March 30 the Miners' Federation of Great Britain declared itself against a partial strike in Wales and also against a general strike in the whole of England in support of the former. After long discussions the conference of the

Miners' Federation recommended to the workers of Wales to accept the terms of a compromise proposed to them as a result of the negotiations. The points upon which there is a disagreement were, according to the conference, not sufficient to justify a partial or a national struggle. The work in the mines of Wales will continue from day to day, until the miners themselves have by their vote expressed themselves on the propositions made to them.

Sweden.

The law to prevent strikes and lock-outs in Sweden, the contents of which we have already related, was submitted to the house of representatives on March 22. We may add that, after regaining the composition of the arbitration tribunal, the bill enumerates the penalties to be imposed upon organizers of strikes which may be considered prejudicial to national prosperity. Everywhere we see the same steps taken by the bourgeois governments to paralyze the activities of labor unions.

National Congresses and International Solidarity.

More and more common the custom becomes in the labor movements of different countries to mutually send delegates to the national labor union congresses. Thus, at the third congress of the building industry federation of France, which took place at Orleans during the Easter days, the unions of the building industry of Belgium and Italy and the union of Belgian painters were represented. Besides, the congress in question sent sympathetic telegrams to the French teachers, gathered at Angers, to the German pavers in congress at Cologne, and to the Swiss lumber workers in congress in Zurich. The congress decided that an intense propaganda shall be carried on in the frontier regions in cooperation with the organizations of neighboring countries, in order to make foreign workers understand their duties as a class so as to prevent strikebreaking or the acceptance of reduced wages.

HOLLAND.

The Congress of the National Labor Secretariat of Holland (Dutch Syndicalists), which was held during Easter in Amsterdam, was a real success. Out of 81 affiliated organizations 56 were represented by 150 delegates, and, besides, delegates were present from six regional labor exchanges (Bourses du Travail) and national union councils. The most important resolutions of the congress were: A second paid functionary of the secretariat will be engaged; for the future the annual reports of the secretary and the treasurer, etc., shall be sent in pamphlet form to the members of the various organizations at least one month before the general congress; the National Secretariat shall eventually commence an active campaign against a soon-to-be-expected bill providing for obligatory insurance with assessments on the workers, the secretariat instead declaring itself in favor of pensions without such assessments, in accordance with the English system. For lack of time the whole order of business could not be gone through, but nevertheless the cardinal points were discussed. Altogether this general assembly proved that independent revolutionary unionism has made great progress during the year 1909 as well in organizing strength as in influence over the current of labor affairs. The detailed annual report of the secretariat speaks of a continued series of strikes and other working class actions, showing the valiant activity of our syndicalist organizations, which, although rather small in numbers as yet, know how to instill enthusiasm and carry the proletarian masses with them. The treasurer's report shows that the financial basis of the secretariat is solid and that the handling of the finances is in the best of hands. In 1909 the journal "Die Arbeit" (The Work), organ of the Secretariat, has greatly increased its subscription list (33 per cent) and left a surplus of 1800 francs (\$360). In brief, the congress was really encouraging and left pleasant recollections with the delegates. Fraternal greetings were exchanged between the Dutch congress and the congress of the German revolutionary unions, which met the same day in Berlin.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

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NEW HEADQUARTERS

The Spokane Locals of the I. W. W., Nos. 132, 222, 223 and 434 have established new headquarters at 616 Front Avenue, near Wall Street. All those wishing to pay dues will find the Secretary at this location.

MEETING NIGHTS.

Local 434—Monday evening, 7:30 p. m.
Local 222—Wednesday evening, 7:30 p. m.
Local 223—Monday evening, 7:30 p. m.
Local 132—Wednesday evening, 7:30 p. m.

T. H. DIXON,
Sec'y Executive Com.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

1524 Fifth Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Reading room open from 8 a. m. to 10 p. m.
Library contains a long list of books dealing with the labor problem.

Pamphlets on Industrial Unionism for sale at the following prices:

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Address P. O. Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

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SUBSCRIPTION:

Yearly \$1.00
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Address P. O. Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

Propaganda meetings held every Sunday at 8 p. m.

C. H. WILLIAMS,
Sec'y Propaganda Committee.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AS SEEN IN ENGLAND

Industrial Unionists have often been charged with trying to form "yet another" organization, and thereby adding to the number already in existence. We are asked why we do not try to amalgamate the existing Unions, and by this means reach our ideal of one union for the whole working class? Again, it has been argued that the existing Trade Unions are tending towards amalgamation, so why not let them get on with it, and do our best to aid them in their efforts.

To the first question I would reply: "That if the whole of the present Trade Unions were tomorrow to amalgamate into one union we should not have Industrial Unionism." Industrial Unionism in itself presupposes an entirely new form of organization to the lines upon which the present Trade Unions are organized. Not only that, but the mere forming of the workers into one union is not the be all and end all of Industrial Unionism. It demands a clear recognition of the class struggle. That is to say, that the interests of the employing class and the working class are opposing interests. To carry the idea to its full and logical conclusion, the working class must understand exactly what they are out for, and the reason for their being organized on Industrial lines. They must understand fully that whenever they come up against the employers, they (the workers) can never be wrong. They must be taught the fact that they alone are responsible for all the wealth that is produced, and such being the case, they alone are entitled to it. In the case of a strike there must be no quibbling as to whether they are justified or not. The workers should always be right in the eyes of a sound Industrial Unionist. For these reasons alone it is necessary for us to form a new union. The whole of the rules and ideas that form the mental make-up of the Trade Unions are contrary to this view of things. They are formed expressly for the purpose of trade protection, and, having failed for even this purpose, they have in the main deteriorated into mere benefit societies. As constituted, they are not only useless for the purpose of bettering the conditions of their members, but to the working class, as a class, they are positively dangerous. Their existence is a bar to any progressive movement. They cling tenaciously to the old craft spirit, although crafts as such have long been eliminated by the development of industry.

The class conscious revolutionary spirit must be installed into the minds of the workers or else Industrial Unionism will lack its final and essential aim. Mere organization on industrial lines is not all that is necessary. It must be combined with a clear conception of the worker's position in capitalist society. The revolution of the working class to be successful must be a conscious revolution. Our reason for forming a separate organization is to insure ourselves that the men inside that union are thoroughly grounded on Industrial Unionism in both its practical and theoretical aspects. The amalgamation of the existing unions does not give that assurance, inasmuch as a number of men would be drawn in without a clear conception of the reason for it.

It is a false idea to try to amalgamate a number of different elements and expect the whole to be perfectly harmonious without first assuring oneself that they possess those natural powers of cohesion each with the other. The Trade Unions do not possess those natural powers of cohesion in so far as each have rules and ideas that clash. Amalgamation is practically impossible. Hence our contention that a separate union is absolutely necessary to accomplish the emancipation of the working class.

I contend that if an attempt was made to carry out the social revolution before the working class were prepared for it there is scarcely any chance of it succeeding. Belfort Bax, in his history of the "Paris Commune," points out that the failure was mainly due to lack of organization. Which means to say that they lacked that natural cohesion that is necessary to carry out a revolution successfully. Also that their ideas were confused and the issue was not clear. The working class today must profit by the unfortunate mistakes of the communards, which lead not only to failure of the attempt but also throw the movement back a considerable number of years. These contentions practically answer the second point as well as the first.

Our claim for a separate union is, I contend, fully maintained, both by the evidence of facts and logical argument. This being so, we can go on to enlarge on the method of organization upon which the new union is to be formed.

The basis of this union will, in contradistinction to the present method of organization by trades or crafts, be organization by industries. Take the metal industry for example: Instead of having one union for engineers, one for boilermakers, one for pattern makers, one for moulderers, etc., all would be organized in an Industrial Union in the department of metal, along with every worker engaged in that industry. Clerks, laborers, carmen, etc. So that the whole of the men in any metal shop would be united in whatever capacity they may be employed. Take also the tobacco industry. Today there are cigar makers' unions, cigarette makers' unions, tobacco cutters, packers, box makers, carmen, shop assistants, engineers to look after the machinery, etc. The whole of these men or women are connected with the tobacco industry, yet they are split up into perhaps a dozen different unions. Industrial Unionism would organize them into an Industrial Union of tobacco workers, to be linked up again in the department of foodstuffs. By this

means the whole of the manufacturing and distributing agencies could act in concert, thereby tying up the whole industry in case of a strike. By the present method of organization by trade, if the cigar or cigarette makers were on strike the box makers would make boxes for, and the shop assistants would sell these goods, although they were made by blackleg labor. Being in entirely different unions, and not considering the strike any concern of theirs, although at the same time sympathizing with the strikers, they would go on working, and consequently help to defeat the men out. Take again the case of the railway men. Supposing they were to come out. Attempts would be made to carry the goods by motor-wagons or other road agencies, or by water. Industrial Unionism would organize the whole of these men, whether railway men, car men, motor drivers, sea or river workers, into a department of transport. They would then be able to prevent any maneuver of this kind on the part of the employers. With cotton, wool, woodwork, mining, etc., the same method would obtain, placing in the workers' hands a power which they have never yet known. Is this not a vastly superior method to that of the old Trade Unions? Not only is it a mighty weapon in the workers' hands for all immediate purposes, but it is also the key to the final overthrow of the present wage system. It forms the structure of the new society or workers' commonwealth, which as a logical consequence follows the forcible overthrow of the capitalist system by the industrially organized working class. We claim for Industrial Unionism the power to accomplish what the trade unions and all the parliamentary activities have failed to do. It outpoints by far any other known method of working class organization. It puts everything else in the shade, and contains within itself to bring into actual being what great thinkers and writers have so long sung the praises of.—J. Moss, in Industrialist.

CORDOVA AND FAIRBANKS, ALASKA.
(Continued from Page One.)
imposition upon gullible and unsophisticated workingmen.

First—There are the transportation companies, who want their filthy steerages and their poverty-stricken "dining tables" crowded beyond the limit at \$15 or more, going up, as an inducement, and at two or three times as much coming down. They are even generous enough not to mind if a few first and second cabin passengers should be caught in their sensational, gilded drag-net, spread in the columns of the accommodating Seattle press.

Secondly—it is the Alaskan employers of labor who wish for nothing better than to have the workers stand three deep in a line a mile long, begging for a job with the pleading eyes of a hungry dog. They want to have it so, that they can fix the wages and conditions to suit themselves. Is there, perhaps, anyone who reads these lines who does not know that strikes have continually been going on for several years in the Treadwell mines, the world's largest gold mine, and also in Fairbanks. There may be strikes on there now. As for the third important shipping point, Cordova, we refer to the above message from an I. W. W. man who has been stung.

Third—There is the mercantile breed, called the Alaskan "dealer," who thinks "the more the merrier." The more men that come North, the more he can sell at famine prices, and the larger his profits.

Fourth—we have the "business men" of Seattle, for whom, to quote from themselves, "this matter is of the utmost importance." Of course it is. A lurid advertisement like the one cited above will attract masses of innocent people from all parts to Seattle, in addition to the thousands who are already here, looking for a chance to live. Out of this mass a great number will, undoubtedly hearken to the summons, buy their outfit in Seattle for an Alaska season, and when they eventually come back, ragged and disappointed, they will again have to patronize Seattle lodging houses, restaurants, saloons, clothing stores, etc. It is a case of "catching them coming and going." Many a man will yet place his tribute on the altar of the "Seattle spirit," that commercial idol over whose temple doors is written: "When there are no strangers to skin, skin one another."

To sum it up, were we to consult the workers of Alaska in the matter, they would without hesitation answer: "There are enough of us here already."

THE REDLANDS RESOLUTION.

Redlands, Cal., April 13, 1910.
To all Locals of the I. W. W. and all Delegates to our coming convention:

Agricultural Local 419, Redlands, Cal., wants you to know that up to date endorsements have been given by the undersigned locals of the I. W. W. in response to the resolution adopted by us, which calls attention to the importance of having all wage-workers, who are organized in Industrial Unions on clear-cut class-conscious lines, in all and any country, meet by the medium of representatives in convention, to discuss and compare ways and means, tactics and organization on the most scientific lines; such convention to take the place of the International parliamentarian Socialist Congress and to weld the working class more firmly together.

Local 437, Branches 1 and 2, Imperial, Cal.
Locals 91, 92, 141, Portland, Ore.

Local 354, Aberdeen, Wash.

Local 13, San Diego, Cal.

Local 173, San Francisco, Cal.

Local 179, New York, N. Y.

This to be published in the "Industrial Worker" and "Solidarity" by request of Local

419, Redlands, Cal.

T. KILCULLEN, Recording Secretary.

I. W. W. AGITATION

IN DULUTH, MINN.

It may be of some interest to the readers of the "Industrial Worker" to learn how things are in Duluth, Minn., at which place I have been since the 26th of March.

It is a really slow town, which is especially true as far as concerns the floating workers who visit the employment sharks, for these are surely in clover here in Duluth.

I have held street meetings daily for two weeks and have been interfered with twice by the police for selling books. They tell me I can give them away, but not sell them. However, as yet nothing serious has happened. In spite of them all I have disposed of a large quantity of literature. The best of it is the effect the agitation has had on the job-sharks. They have threatened to drive me out of town if I do not stop knocking their business.

We have been successful in starting an organization here with 28 charter members, and the outlook for a strong organization here for the I. W. W. is good.

C. H. AXELSON.

THERE ARE LETTERS

At the headquarters of Locals 178 and 382, I. W. W., 1524 Fifth Avenue N., Seattle, Wash., for the following persons: Sam Tobin, N. Agranovich, William O'Grady, J. Horowitz (2), Joe Braden, S. D. Rayson, C. L. Mork, William Alex. Brown, Dominicos, Stubbs, D. Rubew, O'Rod, Garry Gord (4), Joseph Scott.

These letters will be forwarded if new address is sent to A. Wangeman, 1524 Fifth Avenue N., Seattle, Wash.

WHEN RENEWING.

When renewing your subscription to the Industrial Worker, send us three dollars. In return for same, we will place you on our mailing list for one year, and send to your address, three yearly sub cards. Sell the three sub cards at one dollar apiece, and you will be securing your subscription free of cost, and at the same time helping to further extend the circulation of the Industrial Worker.

CONVENTION NOTES.

The General Executive Board will meet at General Headquarters Monday, April 25, at 9 o'clock a. m.

The convention will be held in Brand's Hall, 643 North Clark Street (now Roosevelt's Hall).

The convention will be called to order at 9 o'clock May 1. Delegates should try and be on hand at that time.

Seattle Advertisements

Crystal Palace Cafe

LABOR EXCHANGE

NEWS ITEMS



All members of the I. W. W., especially those employed in the camps, should send in reports to this labor exchange column, so that the membership may be kept posted on the conditions existing in said camps or places of employment. What we want is good, reliable information. In sending in reports do not exaggerate the faults or poor conditions existing at such places of employment. We know that as a rule the conditions under which we are forced to labor are bad enough, but the thing is not to make them appear any worse than they are. We want information that can be relied upon. When the boss hires men from the employment sharks state the name of such employment agency and the city where the men are shipped from. Job cards on which to make out the reports can be had for the asking, either from the secretary of your local union or by writing to this paper. In going out to camp do not fail to take one or more of these along and to make the same out and mail to the paper before leaving.

Belt, Mont.

Am working on Great Northern Railway. Name of employer is A. B. Cook & Co., railroad contractors; wages \$2; pay once a month; grub no good. I. W. W. man can get work; sleep in fifth bunk house; polltax \$2, not to forget other things; 12 hours is a day's work; \$1 a day for board. Hires from employment shark. Enough said. C. J. JOHNSON. Local 132, Spokane, Wash.

Machias, Wash.

O. K. Mill & Logging Co., 5 miles' walk from Machias; wages \$2.50 to \$4.50; payday 10th of month; I. W. W. men get work here; sleep in bunk house; no hospital fee; hires men from Seattle employment sharks; board \$5—middling good. ADOLF BORRESEN. Local 432, Seattle.

Victor, Mont.

Working seven miles out of Victor in logging camp. Wages \$40 per month, pay monthly; grub fair; I. W. W. man can work here; "if they do not know"; sleep in tent; no polltax, hospital fee or discount; boss does not hire men from employment sharks.

There is plenty of ranch work here in the Bitter Root valley. OSCAR C. ANDRE, Member Local 434, I. W. W.

Notes From Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

Two large sawmills near town, and one at La Crosse, two miles from town, are running; also several small mills. Wages \$2.25 for 10 hours and up. All yard men except lumber pillars get \$2.25, with few exceptions. Wages inside of mill are \$2.25 and \$2.50 for common labor. Board and room \$5.50 to \$7 per week. Every company charges \$1 hospital fee. Men in the mills are dissatisfied with conditions. There is some street grading here, wages \$2.50 for 10 hours. None of the mill men are organized, but the sentiment is good for unionism. A little more raise in the cost of living and a few more wage reductions will fetch 'em. An I. W. W. man can get on when the mills are short, and men come and go every day. Some irrigation work is going on at Hayden Lake; wages \$2.50 for 10 hours; also some park grading. Good chances to catch on at Hayden Lake, which is six miles from here by electric railway. JOHN M. POWERS.

In order to maintain the present capitalist system, it is absolutely necessary to have a large army of unemployed, who are used by the capitalist class to keep the men and women who are employed working for just a bare existence.

How glorious it is to be butchered on the field of battle for our (?) country.

JOHN REECE.

Local 434, Spokane, Wash., wishes to know if John Reece has turned in his card anywhere. This fellow-worker has not been heard of since he came out of the Franklin school, and the local is afraid he may be dead.

DIRECT ACTION

(Revolutionary Labor Union Tactics.)

By

ARNOLD ROLLER,
(Author of "The Social General Strike.")

Translated from the German by

John Sanderson.

INTRODUCTION.

The most advanced champions in the struggles of the working class have now for nearly half a century been the Socialist and the Anarchist movements, and we have grown accustomed to classify all earnest fighters as either the one or the other. It is quite unwillingly that room is made for the new revolutionary movement, which differs distinctly from both in methods and tactics, namely, the syndicalist, or revolutionary labor union movement, whose adherents to a large extent decline both the name of Socialist and Anarchist. The features which make this new movement—in America represented by the Industrial Workers of the World—something apart from its two predecessors on the battlefield, are that it proposes to attain its aims through an economic organization of the workers on industrial lines and through the use of "direct action."

That the present work on "Direct Action" is at this time presented in English translation should be amply justified by the fact that the English language is so extremely poor in treatises of this kind, while in France and Germany a whole literature has grown up around the question of revolutionary tactics in labor's battles. The workers of different countries should profit by one another's experiences; that saves them from many a clumsy experiment, many a slip, many a defeat. In this little book the author, who is already known to the American workers through a translation of his "The Social General Strike"—enters into an analysis of the various forms of "indirect and direct action," drawing his conclusions with merciless truthfulness, but what makes the work especially valuable is the numerous interesting instances of direct action already used with success in other countries, instances which so plainly illustrate and corroborate every contention of the author's that the reading of it becomes a real pleasure.

A work of this kind is, besides, timely in a country where we just now see about half a million men—in Philadelphia and in the coal fields—for lack of knowledge of proper organization and tactics, facing certain defeat, like in most every great American strike up to this time.

Those whose minds are still so dominated by bourgeois ideas that they will revolt against certain parts of this book are reminded that the present social struggle means war to the bitter end, and that, consequently, such means should be used as will most surely, most expeditiously, bring about the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

TRANSLATOR.

CONTENTS.
I.—Indirect action and lawful labor union tactics;

1. Results of labor union tactics hitherto employed.
2. The cause of their unsuccessfulness.
- II. Direct action against capitalism—
1. What means "direct action."
2. The simplest, the peaceable form of direct action.
3. The revolutionary strike.
4. Sabotage, Go-canny, Obstructionism, Boycott.
- III. Direct action against the state.
1. Direct action against legislation.
2. Direct action against militarism.
- IV.—Direct action as the straight road to the proletariat's complete liberation.

PREFACE.

The serious defects from which the enlightened revolutionary proletariat suffers and by which it is to a great extent held back from the revolutionary deed, from practical action and positive work, are philosophizing and mysticism. With fatalistic faith people are expecting from "the conquering power of the idea" or from "the historic development towards justice and freedom," that they shall bring nearer to us the realization of our impatient demands for happiness and well-being. People theorize too much over theories and neglect and forget practicals.

Now, workingmen, the words said to you here may be brutal words—but, admit that all those who do nothing but philosophize and are carried away with mystic awe at the beauties of our grand ideal, while they consider action and the details of action only in passing as something subordinate—admit that these will bring you up to nothing but impotent weaklings without will-power and without ability to act.

Action is everything—"in the beginning action was—all revolutionary declamations are only feeble yearnings as long as they are not backed by a knowledge of how to use physical force. Even Themis, the goddess of Justice, has to her support a drawn sword.

Without limit the repressive measures of the growing political reaction are piling up in every country. In England we have the immigration laws; in Germany the arbitrary, unquestioned autocratic absolutism of the monarch, the high import duties on the most important foodstuffs, the formidable militarism, the undisguised class justice, the promulgation of special laws against the working class; in Switzerland the expulsion and extradition of political fugitives to Italy and Austria. These should be sufficiently clear examples of the political reaction in those countries."

All striving for the socialization of the means of production is utopian without the social general strike, which alone can make it possible. All revolutionary labor union tactics remain empty words without a knowledge of the means to be used in technically revolutionary, economic action.

The last few years of propaganda have proven that the spreading of the idea is due far more to a knowledge of the practical means that will soon make this ideal a reality than to the beauty of this ideal. A knowledge of the praxis convinces and wins infinitely more adherents than all deep soundings of the theory.

This is intended to be a practical treatise—dedicated to the proletarians of all countries who are fighting for a happier life—for sensible use.

ARNOLD ROLLER.

The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the workers themselves.—Motto of the International Workmen's Association.

I.

INDIRECT ACTION AND LEGAL LABOR UNION TACTICS.

1. Results of Labor Union Tactics Hitherto Employed.

As if after a long sleep the workers of different countries—principally the Latin countries—are beginning to recognize that the tactics hitherto used in their struggles for a better and happier future, as well as for better living conditions in the present, must give room to new fighting methods.

Up to this time the struggle for these aspirations has been carried on by two organizations of the working class, the political and the economic or labor union movement. The political organization, which to this very day has by most workers been considered the most important one, gives as its principal aim the realization of these very aspirations for the longed-for better future, the Socialist society. Still, it also declares its purpose to be to seek to attain improvements in the conditions of the workers already under the present society through the politico-parliamentarian activity of the working class, or, to be more correct, through the work and participation by representatives of the working class in legislative bodies.

To the labor unions, especially in Central Europe and England, a much more restricted field was assigned. Their task was limited more to mutual support among the members, but naturally also included the conduct of peaceful wage conflicts, without any particular ideal being held up by the members. All further reaching and fundamental improvements in the lot of the proletariat remained the task of the political organization, which, with the aid of the agents of the proletariat, the representatives, was to bring forth laws favorable to the proletariat in the parliaments. Parliamentarism is the most distinct expression of indirect action, of participating in a round-about way through representatives in the parliaments. From this indirect action alone the proletariat has for decades been expecting its welfare in the present and the future. Even in the case of wage conflicts it has only too often laid its fate in the hands of its representatives, in the hands of go-betweens, while the workers, accustomed to always have others acting for them, question their own ability—where they have not already lost it—to take their own affairs in their own hands, and not even can see the possibility of how such great masses can wrest concessions from the state or the capitalist.

But the events of the last few years begin to open the eyes of the workers everywhere.

Politico-parliamentarian tactics soon succeed in steering the stormy, restless—aye, threatening, beginnings of the labor movement into a peaceful and legal rut, a rut from which the movement has not deviated for 30-40 years. The result is the most complete disappointment for innumerable of those who have been patiently believing and hoping, and a confirmation of the prophecies of those who condemned these peaceable tactics.

In spite of the increase in number of the political agents of the proletariat, the social-democratic representatives, the political reaction has grown stronger of late years. The open as well as the sneaking reaction is becoming ever stronger in all constitutional countries in spite of universal suffrage, while it has become evident that in spite of the great number of social-democratic voters, the political influence of the working class, after the turning over of its affairs in the hands of their parliamentarian agents, is altogether insignificant, because there is nothing to fear from them and because there is no revolutionary and energetic action to be expected from a working class brought up in the peaceable and loyal spirit of obedience and respect for the laws.

Without limit the repressive measures of the growing political reaction are piling up in every country. In England we have the immigration laws; in Germany the arbitrary, unquestioned autocratic absolutism of the monarch, the high import duties on the most important foodstuffs, the formidable militarism, the undisguised class justice, the promulgation of special laws against the working class; in Switzerland the expulsion and extradition of political fugitives to Italy and Austria. These should be sufficiently clear examples of the political reaction in those countries."

the flagrantly corrupt legislative bodies who enact no laws except such as are in favor of the master class.

In order to complete this picture let us remember that in these two countries, England and Germany, where also the economic organizations of the proletariat are most strong and powerful both in regard to the size of their membership and their treasure, the labor unions have "got it in the neck" in all wage conflicts of magnitude and importance. We always hear the talk about the powerful and strongly organized working class, but, wherever a real trial of strength has taken place, the working class has been conquered by the capitalists.

The events of the last few years show how capitalism has become an ever more autocratic despot over the proletariat in spite of all mass organization of the workers. What we want to show is that it is not the number of members and the size of the organization, not the quantity of organization nor the height of the pile in the treasury that determines the outcome of a battle against capitalism, but the spirit with which it is imbued, its tactics, the courage and the quality of the members.

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Let us recollect the general strike of the machinists in England in 1898. The strike lasted for seven months, and although it was supported with solidarity by all organizations, yes, by the whole proletariat, although they themselves had at their service a powerful organization, although about \$5,500,000 were paid out as strike benefits, and although the public power did not at all mix up in the affair, the strike was most miserably lost.

Encouraged by the quiet, peaceful conduct of the trade unions, their apparently immense power notwithstanding, capital and its expression, the ruling power, went still further—so far as to appropriate in legal way the beautifully filled treasuries of the trade unions. As the government is the expression of the will of the capitalists, everything that is considered useful to them is naturally "legal," and everything disadvantageous is illegal.

Thus it happened in the year of 1900 that after the defeat of the strike on the railways of the Taft-Vale Company in England the capitalists dragged the railway workers' union before the tribunals suing for damages for the injuries inflicted on them through the strike. The union was really sentenced to pay the enormous sum of 28,000 pounds (\$140,000). So much was now this union under the spell of the spirit of "legality" that it confessed to the legality of the verdict and acknowledged its debt! It only begged for a reduction of the sum adjudged, and, after all, finally paid 23,000 pounds (\$115,000) to the capitalists!

Once more the capitalists of England expropriated the treasures of the labor organizations with the assistance of their very much "lawful" tribunals, which, besides—in support of their "legality"—have the police, the prisons and the soldiery. The miners of Wales were sentenced to pay the coal barons 100,000 pounds (\$500,000), and this time, under the pretext of their assaults against the liberty to work during the strike (picketing). The workers acknowledged even this "legality" and—paid.

*Translator's Note—Only recently (in 1909) the striking batters of the United States were sentenced to pay their employers \$220,000 as damages!

Under this head also belongs an amusing incident from the Swedish general strike in 1909. The National Union of Typographical Workers, who by striking had brought the entire press and the printing industry to a standstill, the employers for damages, and the authorities proved willing to run their errands. When they came to raid the printers' treasury, which was known to contain about 50,000 kroner, they found only 30 cents! The balance of the treasury is said to have emigrated to Denmark, to be held in trust by the fellow printers there until further notice.

These few instances can hardly be considered as proofs of the positive power of the working class and their trade unions in England.

(To be Continued.)

SPOKANE POLICE STILL FAKING.

(Continued from Page One)

enough to make them keep tools, stoopigons, spies and Pinkertons in the ranks of their unions. The method of keeping such "agents provocateurs" and handy men has been tried in Russia and has been found to be worth while. Only recently the Swedes had the case of Ohnet, a Russian provocateur who was well taken care of by the Russian authorities, when he finally was unmasked, and we all know of Azeff, the police agent who caused and arranged the killing of some prominent political figures in Russia.

Here in America we have firms who send circulars to employers, soliciting their patronage, and promising to furnish spies, detectives and provocateurs. Not have we yet forgotten these two beautiful samples of low capitalist tools—McPharland and Harry Orchard, who made service of the oppressors of labor.

But the I. W. W. is not in the business of revenge. Its aims are so high, its aspirations so far-reaching—speaking truly now—that we have actually no time to bother with Police Chief Sullivan or any other person who has wronged the working class in the past. We leave them to their own thoughts and contemplations and—forget them.

Events like the Spokane affair we consider only as incidents which befall us on the road, while we are striving for the uplifting of our class from wage slavery, events good enough to muse over some time in the future when we have accomplished our purpose.

The I. W. W. will use all practical means to win out in its battles with the capitalist class, leaving to the workers themselves to determine which is best in each case, but it disavows any connection with stupid measures which on their very surface bear the earmarks of stoopigons work.

Spokane Advertisements

Ressa Bros.

POOL PARLOR, CIGARS, TOBACCO
Grocery Store in Connection
416 Front Avenue

Ideal Rooming House

221½ Howard St.
Neatly furnished rooms, 15c to \$1.00.
NELS SWANSON, Prop.

O. K. Restaurant

BEST MEALS IN CITY
10c and up

JIMMY & HANK, Proprietors

O. K. LOAN OFFICE

220 N. Stevens Street

Tailor Made Suits, value \$15.00, at \$4.00 and up.
Overcoats, value \$8.00, at 75c and up.

Give us a trial. Strictly Second Hand.
We've got the goods.

Stevens Street Restaurant

502 Stevens Street

BEST 15c MEAL IN THE CITY

OUR COFFEE CAN'T BE BEAT

Miller's Cafe

The only 25-cent Meal House in Missoula,
Mont.

I. W. W. HEADQUARTERS

132 WEST FRONT STREET.

Mechanics Cafe
and Bakery

308 WASHINGTON STREET

GROSS & CAROTHERS
PROPRIETORS

MEALS 15 CENTS AND UP

Short Orders at all hours. Boxes reserved for ladies. Open all night

MEAL TICKETS, \$3.25 FOR \$3.00

Queen Coffee House

We Feed More Workingmen Than Any Place in Town

OUR "COFFEE AND" IS KNOWN

337 FRONT AVENUE.

TO HELP US GROW

FOUR SUB CARDS

FOR THREE DOLLARS

If you are interested in spreading the propaganda of Industrial Unionism